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LETTER

FROM A

COUNTRY GENTLEMAN,

TO A

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT,

ON THE

PRESENT STATE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS:

IN WHICH

THE OBJECT OF THE CONTENDING PARTIES,

AND THE FOLLOWING

CHARACTERS

ARE PARTICULARLY CONSIDERED;

THE DUKES OF NORFOLK, PORTLAND, AND NORTHUM-  
BERLAND;

THE HOUSES OF DEVONSHIRE, AND RUSSEL;

THE LORDS THURLOW, CAMDEN, LOUGHBOROUGH,  
KENYON, AND NORTH;

MR. PITT,—MR. FOX,—MR. BURKE,—MR. SHERIDAN;

MRS. FITZHERBERT,

AND

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES.

PARVE, NEC INVIDEO, SINE ME, LIBER, IBIS IN URBEM.

OVIR.

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MDCCLXXXIX.



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## LETTER, &c.

DEAR SIR,

I Acknowledge your goodness for the very great indulgence you have exercised towards my anxious mind, in the various and continued communications you have so kindly made to me, in the present very singular and important crisis. My residence is at such a distance from the metropolis, and the public prints so strenuous for their respective parties, that if some considerate friend, in the centre of public busines, did not condescend to favour us country people with some general principles for our direction, we should be as little qualified to judge of the present moment, as of any doubtful matter of a former century.

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I KNOW

I KNOW your position in the great world is such, as to enable you to overlook what is passing in it ; and I am equally sensible of your rare qualifications to form a right judgment of what you see and hear ; your sentiments, therefore, must have the greatest weight with me ; and if you had not desired me to embody my own thoughts on the state of public affairs, I should certainly have adopted such as you might have deliberately given me, without further reflection or enquiry. But you express a desire to receive my opinions, whatever they may be, on the passing scene of things in this country ; by which, I suppose, you mean, the opinions of a man who has long been retired from what is called the bustle of life ; and who, living under the shade of his own fig-tree, may be naturally expected to deliver sentiments entirely free from that spirit of party, which, from public communication, private friendship, or factious arts, possesses, even in your opinion, an influence which no one, at such a moment as the present, can altogether avoid,

who

who mingles in the great scene of political life.

If there is a subject of these kingdoms more unconnected than another with the leading persons in either of the contending parties—it is myself. Mr. *Fox* I have never seen since he was a boy, and Mr. *Pitt* I have never seen at all. I have personally no political hopes or fears whatever. Not all the power of Ministers, nor all the wealth of the Treasury, would tempt or bribe me to quit the shade of those woods where I was born, whither I have retired to pass the remainder of my days, and where I hope to die. You will, therefore, receive the sincere, and perhaps the curious effusions of an honest, an unbiassed, and tranquil spirit, upon the business that agitates the national mind on the lamentable incapacity of the sovereign of the empire.

The first observation which occurs to me is this :—that, at the moment, when the heavy affliction of his MAJESTY's illness interrupted the government of his country,

public affairs were conducted with great apparent wisdom :—the nation was recovering very fast from the distresses of a most unfortunate and expensive war ;—commerce was extending its limits—the revenues were increasing their income—and, though loaded with a most burthensome and unparalleled weight of taxes, the nation was satisfied. Wise alliances had been formed, and others were forming. The energies of our government had been made known to the world, and the British character raised to its former importance in the eye of mankind, without the imposition of any new burthen on the people, or any infringement on those funds which had been already appropriated by Parliament, to the regular diminution of the national debt. Such, I think, was our situation ; and a better, could hardly be expected, when the nation was called to contemplate the most affecting object a prosperous people could behold, and to provide such means as were necessary to supply the unprecedented exigencies of the very alarming juncture.

THE first wish my mind urged me to express was in common with the whole kingdom, that his MAJESTY might be shortly restored to his capacity of transacting the public business of the nation. The second desire of my heart was, that the administration of Government might proceed without any change in the persons who composed it.—Indeed, in the first view of the unfortunate event, and the earliest exertion of conjecture, on the consequences of it, I did not suppose it probable that any alteration would be immediately attempted by the Regent power, whether that power should be exercised by an individual, or an aggregate body.—That the Ministers whom the King approved, while he possessed a capacity to approve, should, the moment that capacity was suspended, be discharged from their stations, without having committed any act, been guilty of any neglect, or discovered any incapability which could justify their dismission, would be a measure too full of indecency to the King, of injustice to his servants, and insult to the nation, for any one to advise. But I had so

far forgotten the ways of mankind, and the contests for power, as to be the dupe of my own humble notions of public virtue. I really could not conceive that the first thing which would occur to the party in opposition was, that the lapse of the sovereign's capacity to govern, should be considered by them as the signal to make an attempt to seize the helm: and it did not appear to me to be within the scope of possibility, that, if they were hungry and ambitious enough to make the effort, they would be encouraged to pursue their object by a great personage, who could derive honour from the awful period by no other conduct than that of immoveable patience and silent dignity. But I was soon awakened from this idle dream of political virtue. The exultations of a late despairing party appeared to mingle with the first sighs of those who embraced no party at all, or had lost the influence of any in a sense of the common affliction.

AT the moment when the hand of Heaven smote his MAJESTY, the administration of Mr.

Mr. *Pitt* seemed to be fixed as firm as the monarch's life: the hopes of his opponents were sunk very low in the socket, and their re-possession of power was an object so distant in the landscape of politics, as to claim their patience, rather than their expectation. Mr. *Fox*, the great leader and parliamentary support of this party, had left his country and all his patriot cares, to ramble, no one knew where, on the continent, and to recover himself from the fatigues of political strife in the arms of faded beauty.<sup>junior</sup> He little thought that his domestic enjoyments would so soon be interrupted by new prospects of power, nor could he dream that, while he was pointing out to the chaste *Armstead*, the scattered beauties of ancient magnificence, beneath an Italian sky, his disjointed party were impatiently longing for his presence at home, to form the political phalanx, and direct its operations.

It has been said that the *Prince of Wales* considers himself under such peculiar obligations to this party, that he cannot do otherwise than seize the very first opportunity

nity which occurs, to call them into power. It is also asserted that Mr. Pitt has acted with so much personal opposition to the views of the *Heir Apparent*, as to justify the royal displeasure, in taking the earliest occasion to dismiss him from the public service. We can only reason from what we know,— and the same authority, by which I am informed that the *Prince of Wales* acknowledges very great obligations to those men who have so long opposed his Father's Ministers, instructs me to add, that he considers himself as indebted to their friendship alone, for the parliamentary arrangement of his private affairs, and his consequent emancipation from that state of inconvenience and personal distress in which his own imprudence had unfortunately involved him.— If his Royal Highness really believes that no relief would have been administered to his very unpleasant situation, but by the interposition of Mr. Fox and his followers; if he is persuaded that those men had no views whatever of distressing government, and rendering Ministers unpopular by such an interposition; if his understanding

derstanding is convinced that principles of public justice and personal affection to him were the sole motives of their conduct on the occasion, he is certainly justified in looking upon them with an eye of partial favour. If on the other hand, he can believe that Mr. Pitt would step beyond all bounds of decency and common sense; if he can be convinced that the Minister would risk his reputation with a generous people, by becoming a wanton opponent to the reasonable wishes of the *Heir Apparent*; if he can be persuaded that the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* possesses such an irresistible command over the House of Commons, as to make them concur in heaping needless mortifications on the *Heir Apparent* to the Crown, and is forward to exercise that influence; the wish of the royal mind to remove such a man from power can be considered in no other view than as proceeding from a generous and a just resentment.

As for mere personal considerations, I will not suppose that the Prince can suffer them to possess a leading influence on his political

political connections : it would be insulting his understanding to imagine that he does not know how to distinguish between men qualified to amuse his convivial hours at *Carlton House*, or the *Marine Pavilion*, and such as are bound to assist in the solemn councils of the State. He cannot but have oftentimes experienced the different operations of duty and desire ; and why may it not be hoped, that he has attained one of the most necessary faculties of his exalted station, to reconcile the man and the Prince to each other :— personal predilection, and public duty, may be in a state of variance, and no one can be so ignorant as to doubt where the sacrifice is to be made.

WE well know what distress and destruction favouritism has brought upon some of the monarchs of this country ; and it need not, surely, be urged that an *Heir Apparent* to the British Crown cannot act in a manner more hostile to his own interest and honour, than by adopting an extended species of favouritism, in consenting to be the head of a party. The history of *Frederick Prince*

*Prince of Wales* forms a fine lesson for his royal Grandson ; and in *Lord Melcombe's* account of it, he may learn how to shape his conduct so as to secure happiness to himself, and prosperity to his people, whenever he shall succeed to the throne of his ancestors. I must, indeed, acknowledge that, were a *Prince of Wales* to hold himself forth as the protector of a party and, on his succession to the throne, should take that party with him to administer the affairs of the country,—I should not augur well of his future government. I am very far from intimating that an *Heir Apparent* to the crown of this kingdom should remain as it were, behind a curtain, or only present himself to public attention as a character of mere negative qualifications, and insipid virtue ; but of this I am confident, that he would do well to preserve himself in calm and tranquil dignity, taking no violent part in public measures, and living in a continual state of preparation to exercise the sovereign authority, when he should be called to the inheritance of it. He should not waste his strength in premature and petty

efforts

efforts, but reserve it for the great trial that awaits him; nor should he oppose his mind to the danger of contracting the habits and prejudices of a party, which will certainly prevent him, when he attains the Crown, from being the King of more than half his people,

I do not mean to assert that the *Prince of Wales* had hitherto set himself at the head of a Party, though he has certainly manifested a particular predilection to those men who have not been remarkable for sharing the favours of his Father. I have not heard that he has encouraged opposition to government by suffering political meetings to be held at *Carlton House*; or assisting himself at the *Councils of Piccadilly, or St. James's Street*: but the public accounts of parliamentary proceedings have informed me, that he has opposed the measures of administration, as a Peer of the realm, and that he has sometimes added one vote to a minority in the House of Lords. I shall not examine the truth of the observation, that the placing themselves in

in a ridiculous situation is always disgraceful to persons of a certain rank and character; I shall not stay to enquire what is dñe and what is dignified in exalted station; but I shall take the liberty to observe that, whoever advised the Prince to make himself a party in parliamentary debate, did not consult the dignity and propriety of his great political character. His Royal Highness might listen to the powerful eloquence and sage counsels of many noble Peers, who are in the habit of engaging in the public deliberations of Parliament, and receive instruction from them: an occasional attendance on the *House of Lords*, for such a purpose, might be of use to his future years: but to do that which is daily done, by a pensioned courtier on one side, and an hungry patriot on the other,—the giving a silent vote—cannot, in my opinion, be considered as a discipline, which may be reasonably expected to afford any improvement or advantage to the Royal mind. I am very much disposed to believe that the arts of a party may operate to the bringing about such an act as this, in order to inform the people,

people, that, if they have not a leader, they have at least a friend in one, whose attachment, though not productive of immediate advantage, is of great reverisionary estimation: and it is by the success of party operations on a young and amiable mind, that I have been able to reconcile, to my own conception, that conduct which I have just mentioned, and always disapproved.

ANOTHER reason perhaps may be suggested, which may have operated more powerfully to connect the Prince with the party in opposition to his Father's Ministers, than any opinion he may profess of their superior political talents, or any sense he may entertain of his personal obligations to them. I allude, as you may suppose, to the mysterious connection which his Royal Highness has formed with Mrs. F——. When you did me the honour to command my opinions on political matters, you would not, certainly, expect from me a sermon on the moral duties; I shall therefore, only express my hope, in the language of *Henry the IV. of France*, that the Prince has virtues sufficient

sufficient to hide, at least, this one failing, if, considering his situation and the moral consequences of the connection, such a term can be properly adopted. Previous to his attachment to this Lady, the passions, it is too well known, treated him with as little reserve as the meanest of their votaries ; and under their influence he was continually seen in those pavilions of pleasure where honour is not known :—it was therefore very fortunate for himself, and, of course, beneficial to the nation, that he became stationary somewhere ; and in particular with a person whose situation in life entitles her to every attention, which the laws of his country will allow him to bestow. This connection, however, has been considered by the nation in general, as a political object of no trivial consequence, and I must acknowledge myself to be one of those who think it demands no small portion of public attention.

OF Mrs. F———, I can venture to write with some knowledge ; I have property not far distant from *Acton Burnell*, the

seat of the elder branch of her family, and have been in the habits of communication with them. They are of antient origin in this country, and possess all the pride common to those who can look far back to an honourable and illustrious ancestry ; nor can there be any reason to suppose that Mrs. F—— is insensible to the distinction of her family :—her education was in France, where this principle was not likely to lose its influence ; and her first marriage was into one of the most wealthy families of the Roman Catholic religion in this kingdom. The having been Mistress of *Lulworth Castle*, was a circumstance of no small dignity to private life ;—and her second marriage with Mr. F——, of *Swinnerton*, in *Staffordshire*, continued her in that state of habitual importance, which would effectually preserve her from being tempted into any degradation of her character. Besides, the dowers and legacies of her different marriages qualified her to command all the elegance of fashionable life ; so that I cannot be made even to suspect that her present situation is not justified to *herself*, by the solemnity of

of some engagement, or the sanction of some ceremony, whatever it may have been.

WHEN the great personage first declared himself her admirer, she turned away from his protestations, and quitted the kingdom to avoid his importunities :— on her return, however, from the continent, she found the passion of her Royal lover still burning with its former ardour ; and such means were soon after employed as to make the lady no longer consider it as a disgrace to acknowledge herself the object of it. The exterior of this connection is evident to all the world ; but the reality of it is an enigma which futurity must explain. That it has been confirmed by any form of matrimony has been contradicted, in the most authoritative manner, by Mr. Fox, in a place, where I trust, he dare not attempt to deceive on such a subject, while the lady herself, labouring under the imputation which, according to some scrupulous opinions, the Right Honourable Gentleman's assertion has connected with her character,

is received and visited, with great respect, not only by the *Duchesses* of *Devonshire* and *Portland*, and many other female persons of distinction, connected with the opposition leaders, but, if report speaks true, by personages of a still more exalted station: but be that as it may, it will not, I believe, be denied that the political minority have paid their court to the Prince by their attentions to Mrs. F———: certain engagements, on their part, have, indeed, been suggested which I shall not mention, because I do not give them a willing credit. When it is said that the Prince has set his heart upon a future measure, which it will require extraordinary courage to propose, the greatest abilities to defend, and the utmost exertion of power to support, I have my doubts as to the truth of such a determination;—I can believe in the wish, but I know not how to give credit to the design. Some of the party with the view of attaching the Prince irrevocably to their cause, may have hinted at something like the promise of a favourite gratification:—of Mr. Sheridan's forward compliance I have

no doubt ; though I confess myself pleased with the report, that encourages me to place some confidence in the constitutional coyness of Mr. *Fox* in a matter of this nature ;—but if the *Duke of Portland* were to hear it mentioned a second time, as a practicable business, without retorting the utmost disdain at such a proposition, and withdrawing himself from a political connection with such as were capable of making it, I should instantly cease to consider him as an object of my esteem, and add his name to the catalogue of those men who have disgraced their rank, fortune, and understanding, by submitting to become the tool of a faction, or the puppet of a party.

To this party, however,—whatever may be his motives, whether a similitude of political opinion, a belief of their superior talents and integrity, a sense of personal attachment, or the hope of future service—the Prince has given very decided marks of his preference :—this being the case, it is a natural process for me, to examine into the characters of the leading in-

dividuals who compose it, in order to discover, how far we may justify any, and what expectations of public advantage to be derived in future from the royal predilection.

### THE DUKE OF PORTLAND,

GIVES a support to the party, by his name, which receives but little comparative aid from his abilities. I would not, however, be thought to imply that this nobleman does not possess a very considerable portion of understanding ; but it is of that nature which, by no means, qualifies him to be the leader of a political band, or the prime minister of his country. While he possesses the integrity, he wants that firmness of mind which distinguished his predecessor the *Marquis of Rockingham* ; who, without possessing what is called great talents, was capable of thinking for himself, and held his course with that kind of dignity, which annihilated all attempts to practise imposition upon him. The *Duke of Portland's* virtues are such, as to conciliate no small share of public regard ; but they do not, I fear, possess the texture which will

will protect them from the power of men who possess not the least degree of his merit. That this nobleman will act, according to the best of his judgment, is an opinion I possess in common with the nation at large; but whether he has a sufficient discernment to preserve his judgement from being misled by the craft of others, is a circumstance of which I should hesitate to form any sanguine expectations. The tedious and mortifying embarrassments of his fortune did not arise from any inordinate passions or vicious habits of his own; but from his friendship for men who were governed by both. As a private individual, his virtues have rendered him the dupe of artful and designing men; and I cannot but express my apprehension, that, in his political conduct, he may become subject to a similar influence.

### Mr. F O X

HAS been, for some years, a very harrafed topic of political criticism, and party declamation.—News-papers, pamphlets,

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and parliamentary speeches, have long considered him, according to their different propensities, as the ablest Minister in Europe, or the most dangerous man in the kingdom. As to his abilities, they possess all the pre-eminence attributed to them by the most sanguine of his followers; and his ambition keeps pace with his abilities. The Coalition proves what he will do to get into power, and his India Bill discovers the means he is capable of adopting to secure the possession of it. But I have, notwithstanding, very little apprehension of Mr. Fox as a dangerous public character in this country. I do not think him in a capacity to do much mischief, even if he should possess the malicious inclination. He may have led individuals of the highest and lowest classes by the nose;—he may have gulled the duke and the cobler—he may have governed a political party, or gained a popular election, by the exertion of his versatile genius; but he has not yet won the confidence of the nation at large. He is with them an unpopular, and a suspected character—and, in the present state of public

lic affairs, without that confidence, no essential mischief can be done to the country by any Minister whatever.—The man who is an object of national suspicion, may possess the courage, but must want the sagacity of Mr. *Fox*, if he attempts to impose upon the people. The greatest political talents will not ensure general confidence to a Minister, if they are not accompanied by a considerable portion of private virtue, as a pledge for their application to the general good.—By private virtue, I do not mean those qualities which form the charm of dissipated life, animate convivial intemperance, drown all serious thoughts, and steal away precaution from the heart; but the love of what is right, and the resolution to practise it in every position of our existence. Such a sense of moral duty Mr. *Fox* is not supposed to possess: indeed, such a life as his has hitherto been, is by no means calculated to produce or encourage it. The gaming table is a place where I should never look for a single virtue; and how much of his time, his fortune and his honour, has been wasted there, I do not wish to enquire. As

to his public conduct, which appears to be nothing more than an enlarged modification of his private principles, it presents a series of inconsistences which fill me with astonishment and sorrow, whenever the circumstances of the times force them upon my reflection. I cannot but lament that a man so highly gifted as he is, should have rendered himself so useles to his country--- and that his splendid talents are forced continually to their best exertion, in repeated but fruitless endeavours to reconcile the numerous contradictions of his political character. In short, without observing farther upon one of the most lamentable examples of intellectual perversion we have ever known, I shall conclude with this declaration, which is all that is necessary to my purpose, that, to express myself in the mildest terms—

*Mr. Fox does not possess the confidence of the nation.*

LORD

## L O R D N O R T H

WAS an unfortunate Minister ; but whatever political crimes were imputed to him by his *present* friends, the nation held him blameless. He possessed the popular credit of being a faithful and zealous, though unsuccessful servant of the State, and the esteem of his country accompanied his retreat from power. His enemies, who affected to despise him when cloathed with greatness, found him formidable in ruin, and were glad to unite his strength with theirs. His personal influence was still most flattering to him ; he remained a very powerful individual in this country, and nothing could have prevented his return to office, with honour to himself and satisfaction to the people, but his infatuated junction with a set of men who had persecuted him, for years, with the most malicious, and unrelenting opposition, that had ever been carried on against any Minister ; with men, whose enmity, even the mild spirit of Christianity could not require him to forgive ;

give ; and with whom, I consider it almost criminal in him, to form any personal connection. Here then he took a long farewell of public respect and popular estimation ; the calamity with which he is afflicted may perhaps awaken somewhat of general pity, but the honourable regard of his country he has lost for ever.

### THE DUKE OF NORFOLK,

FROM his rank, fortune, manly understanding and parliamentary influence, must add a very considerable degree of strength to any party which he may chuse to support ; nevertheless, I am dispos'd to think, that the recollection of his insignificance, before he became the immediate heir of the *Norfolk Family*, the dissipation of his life, and the renunciation of his religion, will operate very powerfully against his acquiring any stability of popular regard. From his first appearance in life, he has been too much engaged in the miscellany of it, to be a secret Bigot to his former religion, as many protestant converts have been ; and his

his mind is of too active a nature, to suffer him to remain at ease under any influence, which obliged him to be an idle spectator of the leading concerns of the world. He did not, however, quit popery while it had any thing further to bestow; it had given him the irrevocable settlement of the Norfolk Estates, and a very wealthy *Herefordshire Heiress*, before he quitted the errors of it: I well know that Miss *Fitzroy* was a protestant Lady, but, at the same time, I am more than inclined to believe, that it was to the contrivance of Mr. *Booth*, the Roman Catholic conveyancer, and the arts of a Governess, of the same religious persuasion, that his Grace owes the possession of the present *Duchess of Norfolk*. I will not throw so great a ridicule on the character of this Nobleman, as to suppose that the spiritual advantages of one religion over another, had any influence on his conversion: our Church is, I believe, indebted for such a noble proselyte to very different considerations. To live in that state of superb insignificance, which had contented the weakness of his predecessors, was by

no means congenial to his busy disposition ; he was not formed to be a calm spectator of those contests in which his temper disposed him to engage, and his situation qualified him to take a command ; and a few minutes pious reading, in St. Martin's Church, gave him at once to the political service of his Country. Previous to his recantation he had been known, in his convivial hours to declare, that the greatest possible pleasure of his life, would be to contend for the representation of a County, and to gain the Election by a single vote. The proverb says, *in vino veritas*,— and the application of it was never more fortunately made than on the present occasion. Parliamentary business, in its various branches, is the darling object of the *Duke of Norfolk's* attention. In the House of Commons he was an active senator ; in the House of Lords he is a persevering Peer ; and, in every part of the Kingdom where his great Estates give him influence, an indefatigable Canvasser :—*Hereford, Carlisle, Arundel, and Gloucester* are the scenes of his active endeavours to form a powerful phalanx of parlia-

parliamentary adherents. But I have my doubts if this itch for carrying Elections, will give him any weight beyond the party who is to profit by it. The mere pride of bringing friends into Parliament from the application of a great fortune and the exertion of superior address, partakes of that weakness which annexes consequence to a stud of horses, or a kennel of hounds. His Grace has private virtues and he exercises them in the best manner ; he is steady in his political principles, which is a species of dignity ; he is not fond of displaying the exterior eclat of his exalted station, which will be considered by some, as one symptom at least, of a superior mind :— Nevertheless, from a supposed depravity, in the indulgence of certain passions, and a suspicion that characteristic inclination predominates over patriotism, in the ardor of his political career, the *Duke of Norfolk* will not, I think, become a character of much public confidence in this country.

THE

## THE HOUSE OF CAVENDISH,

Possesses a very considerable share of private virtue, but unassociated as it is with great talents, and habituated as it has so long been to the trammels of political contest, I feel my respect for that family continue no longer, than while I view them in the confined sphere of domestic life ; there they act from themselves,—while in national concerns they have so long been the dupes, that they are at length become the slaves of a party. The Nephew does what his Uncles bid him, and the Uncles consider Mr. *Fox* as the ablest statesman, the firmest patriot, and the most virtuous man in the world.

## THE NAME OF RUSSEL,

MAY be dear to English Liberty, but what should be the effect of a name, if he who now bears it belies the patriot virtues of his ancestors which made it honourable. We may admire the Progenitor, while we despise

despise the Progeny. The hereditary right of particular families to the favour of the Crown and the confidence of the people, is the most egregious nonsense that was ever uttered by political Fanaticism. The late *Duke of Bedford* was insolent to his Sovereign, and humble to his favourite ; he was proved in a court of Law to have sold a Borough ; and he moved the House of Peers to order the *Mayor of London* to the bar because he gave a casting vote in the common council against thanking the Sheriffs for having done nothing, in the silly business of burning the North Briton. This example of audacious indecorum, despicable humility, avowed corruption, and aristocratic tyranny was a *Russel*.—Of his successor little, I believe, is known, but that he enters into life with all the peculiar knowledge which the *Duke of Queensbury* may be supposed to possess in the matured period of his departure out of it.

## THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND,

Who is a new adherent and boasted acquisition to this party, has never yet presented himself by any great or brilliant action, to the notice of mankind: his American command was a mere piece of military parade, while, with all his predilection for the army, and his studious application to tactics, I have never heard him represented by those who have served under him, but as a teasing Martinet and a supercilious Commander. In the sphere of politics he is only known by his late appearance as the transient head of a very short lived party, called the *Armed Neutrality*, to which, though assisted by so able an Aid de Camp as *Lord Rawdon*, he could not communicate sufficient importance, to last beyond a day:—It seems to have sunk with his Grace into the arms of opposition, and proves how little can be done by high rank, and great property, without the strengthening aid of eminent talents and public character. Ever since he succeeded to the honours

honours and fortune of his family, this Nobleman seems to have been like a foward child, that cries for something which cannot be immediately obtained. Does he think the ordnance would thrive under his care ? or is a regiment of Guards the bauble of his ambition ? — From the late conduct of his Grace, I should suspect that the *Duke of Argyle's* health declines, and that the reversion of his Military command is already secured.

I should not have mentioned the character of these opulent Dukes but in a very general manner, if much improper stress did not appear to be laid upon their support of the party which is now under my consideration ; and that a kind of natural claim has been made to the confidence of the people from the languid wealth of their noble houses. That power follows property is one of those general maxims which oftentimes require a certain degree of qualification. An union of the influence possessed by these noble families may produce great parliamentary strength ; it is not, however, the possession

of power, so much as the knowledge how to employ it, that secures a popular importance to any body of men: but I shall leave these barren and uninteresting subjects for one of an higher class, though unadorned with the pageantry of birth, rank or fortune.

### EDMUND BURKE,

Is a genius of the first order, whose superior abilities and universal Erudition have been rendered useless by an unnatural application of them. Upwards of twenty years has he been exerting those talents, which were given him to enlighten his country, to adorn his age, and to improve mankind, in the service of a party which has added but little to his fortune, and narrowed the limits of his fame. To enlarge the map of history, to aid the researches of philosophy, to illuminate the paths of science, to render irresistible the charms of truth and virtue; in short, to forward the exalted purpose of making men happier and better, should have been the employment of his life, and he would

would then have secured a place among those illustrious characters who have done most honour to their nature, and the greatest service to the world. But ambition cheated him into the desire of greatness, and, instead of passing his days in *Academic Bowers*, where his genius would have found an home, and his fame have flourished without a withering leaf, he engaged with all the fervour of his mind, in the political contests of the times, and has dissipated his energies, his eloquence and his knowledge, in support of a Party, which has rewarded his zeal with little more than the interrupted *hear-hims* of Parliamentary applauders. His eloquence is rapid, animated and highly adorned ; but it amuses rather than instructs, and by its brilliance, weakens the attention which it so strongly solicits : besides, the most partial friends of Mr. *Burke* are forced to acknowledge that his judgment does not keep pace with his other faculties, and, as he advances in years, his encreasing irritability of temper, tends rather to diminish the little stock he possesses of that precious quality of the mind. I do not mean

it as an example of my last assertion, when I declare the opinion, that this Gentleman possesses a much larger portion of integrity than any of his active political coadjutors ; and I have no doubt but his rigid love of what he thinks to be right, has caused him frequently to do and say things, which, in the opinion of his friends, were extremely wrong :—whether it is owing to such errors, his encreasing years, or any apparent diminution of his talents, I do not know ; but his political consequence, which never attained the meridian of the world, appears at this time, to be declining very fast to the horizon of his party.

### LORD LOUGHBOROUGH,

POSSSESSES eminent talents, which are accompanied with a ready and commanding eloquence. By the favour of *Lord Bute* he first obtained a seat in the House of Commons, and having, by a very assiduous attention to the business of it, become a Parliamentary Debater of sufficient consequence to excite the regard of contending parties, he

he availed himself of political circumstances, as they arose, to forward the views of his ambition.—Such a plan of conduct did not promise any stability of public principle; and we find Mr. *Wedderburne* in the course of the present Reign, connected with every set of men that have supported or opposed the measures of Government. His patriot oratory is still remembered at *York*, where he employed its utmost energy to enforce the necessity of addresses, petitions and remonstrances from that respectable County, though he did not possess an inch of property in it. His animated reprobation of the conduct of Ministers respecting the *Middlesex* Election, is not forgotten by *Mr. Wilkes*; while the friends of the *American War* cannot but recollect with admiration, his celebrated Philippic at the *Cock-pit* against *Dr. Franklin*, which drove the hoary Politician across the Atlantic, to arouse the Colonies to a declaration of independence. His powerful defence of *Lord Clive*, when called to the Bar of the Commons, is a circumstance of which the world is in full possession; and was considered with grati-

tude by every man who returned with spoils from the East, till he caused the sincerity of his former conduct to be suspected, by the ardour of his eloquence, when he called down the vengeance of the laws upon those men who were charged with a conspiracy against *Lord Pigot's* Government and life.— Thus he proceeded, making his profession of the Law secondary to his Parliamentary career, till he was appointed to be chief of the court of common Pleas, and called to the *House of Peers*, in opposition to the long standing claims, which were asserted to both those honours by the late *Lord Grantley*, then Speaker of the House of Commons. Thus has this nobleman won his way to the elevated situation which he now occupies. As to his private virtues I am not sufficiently informed to write concerning them ; but this I know, that popular esteem has never waited upon any period of his life ; and it seems to be generally believed, that the individuals of the party which now depends so much upon his Parliamentary assistance, do not consider him with personal veneration. It has certainly been too much the object

object of modern *Lawyers* to mingle in political contests, and this noble *Lord* seems to have taken the lead in this kind of practice. "Mute at the Bar, and in the senate loud," is the description of him thirty years ago by the best poet of that day ; and I must acknowledge, that we who live at some distance from the capital, know little of him in the form of a Judge, assiduously employed in the Administration of Justice — we hear of him only as an able and active *Lord* of Parliament, whose eloquence and abilities have been continually exerted in opposition to Mr. *Pitt*'s Administration.— When *Lord Loughborough*'s idea presents itself to me, it is not in the figure of a grave Magistrate, presiding in the court of Common Pleas, but as an able political Partizan in the *House of Lords* : in short, he has never been an object of national regard. I do not say that he is destitute of those great qualities which command public veneration, or that he is without the milder virtues which conciliate general esteem : I am far from asserting that he possesses any littleness of character which keeps respect at a distance ;

I do not even hint that the lines of *Churchill* which describe him, and the sarcasms of *Junius* which are applied to him, are founded in truth: I do not listen to the calumny which has written his name in the list of a *Gaming Club*; but I shall not hesitate to repeat without fear of reproof, that he is not distinguished by *the popular regard of his Country*.

IN the common language of the world, that person is called an *Adventurer* who depends upon the credulity of others for advantage, without having any thing of his own to risk in return. Nor is this title more applicable to the Merchant without a capital, or the Gamester without a guinea, than to the man who, without an atom of property, or a grain of principle, is brought forward by a party to serve their political purposes, and is preserved from a Goal by the privilege of Parliament. In our days, the political adventurer, is no uncommon character, and oftentimes meets with a degree of protection, which is too rarely obtained by patriot virtue.

Mr.

## Mr. S H E R I D A N,

THOUGH by no means possessed of sufficient consequence or character to be considered as a political leader, is such a brilliant satellite of Mr *Fox*, that he cannot be passed without somewhat of particular attention. Mr. *S* —— has risen by the extent and subservience of his abilities, from a comparative state of obscurity, to a point of no common consideration with the party which has adopted him. His eloquence is of a very superior quality, and, on particular occasions, has been exerted with such irresistible power, as to force the most avowed applause from those who have the least belief in his possession of public virtue, or private principle: but with all his acknowledged capacity to engage in serious debate, he is thought to be more usefully employed as the parliamentary *Congreve* of his party. To pervert a meaning, to play happily upon an expression, to retort a sarcasm, to seize an equivoque, to sport an irony, to create a laugh, to employ the tricks of public speaking,

speaking, and exert all that playful kind of oratory which the *Speaker Onslow* would have considered as degradatory to the proceedings of Parliament, this gentleman is without a rival. But a man without property or personal rank, who owes his maintenance to the surprising kindness of those who trust him, and the elemosynary bounty of those who protect him, can never attain to any solid consequence in this country : he may be elevated by intrigue, some strange concussion of events may lift him on high, or the wayward partiality of favour may advance him, but something more than brilliant talents is necessary to the attainment of public confidence, and that *something* he is not believed to possess.— If the report is founded in fact, that among the arrangements of the new Administration, the *Duke of Portland* turned with disdain from the proposition of making Mr. *Sheridan* a Cabinet Minister ; his Grace acted with an honest dignity that became him, and which for the sake of his country, and his sovereign, I trust, he will continue to maintain.

SUCH, my friend, are the more prominent characters of the party whom the *Prince of Wales* distinguishes with his favour. It would be a waste of my time and your patience to develope the talents of *Lord Stormont*, *Mr. Erskine*, *Mr. Anstruther*, *Mr. Adam*, *Colonel Fullarton* and others of their countrymen, whom the conciliating powers of *Mr. Fox*, who knows how and when to smother his most inveterate prejudices, have won to his support: I shall, therefore, come at once to the resulting character of the party at large—that it consists on the one hand, of great property, some virtue and no talents; and on the other, of great talents, without any property or virtue at all.

SUCH is my honest opinion, which arises from a very impartial and disinterested view of the principal persons engaged in the opposition cohort. An examination of their conduct, from the time when *Lord Rockingham* gave them his name, to the unhappy moment which we now deplore, would not elevate them, I fear, in your opinion or mine; but we are at present confined, to a very

very few months, and during that short period, I can discover nothing in their conduct, which does not manifest the most bold and indecent attempt to obtain the Government of this country, that was ever exhibited by any set of men, in any period of our history. A very brief review of their conduct on the melancholy occasion which has changed their prospects and elevated their hopes, will amply justify my assertion.

No sooner was the awful visitation of Heaven on our *Sovereign* communicated by the Royal Physicians to the *Prince of Wales*, and the Administration, than the scattered Members of the party began to hold up their heads, and enjoy the enlivening expectation of a better and more honourable dependence than the *Faro Table*, which had so long been the principal support of so many of them. Mr. *Sheridan* was ordered to remain in waiting by a great personage, to receive his communications, and to perform such little agencies for him as the critical juncture might be thought to require. Nothing, however, could be done but to disseminate

reports

reports, to scatter opinions, and propagate doctrines, in order to prepare the people for their designs, as soon as Mr. *Fox* could be brought from the continent, to give them form and put them in motion. That gentleman was, at this time, conducting such a woman as Mrs. *Armstead* through *France* and *Italy*, and was called from that honourable duty to head his party, and govern an Empire. His arrival gave something of consistence to the operations of his friends; the *Prince* became a more avowed patron of the opposition band, and a claim was made, as we may suppose, with his consent, by persons high in his confidence, to the *right* of succeeding to the Government, in the present lapse of his MAJESTY's capacity, without any other operation of Parliament, than a ready and unreserved assent to it. But the sentiments both of Parliament and the people militating strongly against such a claim, as being a kind of high treason to the constitution of this country, the declarations of those who had made it, were retracted or explained away, and very great personages were brought forward in debate, in order to quiet

quiet the alarms which had gone forth on the promulgation of such an anti-constitutional doctrine. Fortunately for the nation, the eagerness to grasp at power perverted the judgment of those men who call themselves the *Prince's* friends, so that they let the whole kingdom at once, into a view of their designs, and confirmed the necessity of that wise spirit of precaution, which has been exerted against them.

HAVING been foiled in this very bold attempt, their next object was to prevent the Regency, which was now constitutionally acknowledged to be the gift of Parliament, from being accompanied with those restrictions, with which his Majesty's Ministers proposed to guard the rights of the Constitution, and the dignity of the afflicted Sovereign. To attack the political character of the Minister, on this occasion, was a very natural measure, and to exhibit him as a competitor for power with the *Prince of Wales*, was an effusion of party rage, congenial to the fervid eloquence of Mr. Burke. But such things were in the ordinary

ordinary mode of political contest, and the situation of the Party required something of more effectual manœuvre. This they did not hesitate to employ; and the *Queen* was the object of it. To the astonishment and grief of every person in the kingdom, not immediately connected with the calumniators themselves, there appeared in the *Morning Herald* an attack upon the consort of our *Sovereign*, and the mother of the *Prince of Wales*, which not only treated her name with contempt, but annexed something of implied guilt to her character, and menaced her *Majesty* with the publication of it, if she should be persuaded to interpose, in any manner whatever, in the present state of affairs.—That the *Queen*, whom calumny had ever acknowledged to be above its reach,—whose whole life has been one scene of dignified virtue, should, in a moment of affliction, which language is inadequate to describe, and the consolation of an Empire not sufficient to mitigate, be vilified and menaced by the pen of a party which boasts the protection of her son, is

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an event that compleats the infamy of domestic politics.

WHEN I make this assertion, I do it upon the credit of very sufficient information, that it is a principle of the party to hold in high estimation the auxiliary powers of the public prints; and that a subordinate committee of themselves sits daily, and, perhaps nightly too, at a well known Tavern, in *Covent Garden*, to shape paragraphs, frame hand-bills, and propagate falsehoods; in short, to do their utmost, by any and every means, to inflame the people against the *King's* friends, and to influence the public mind in favour of their own masters. Nay, so much do the opposition seem to depend on this mode of proceeding,—that a provincial paper, printed in my neighbourhood, has been purchased to abuse Government, and inflammatory hand-bills seem to have been blown through theair, to our market towns, in order, (as one of my farmers expressed himself) to make people as glad as the writers of them, that the *King* was out of his mind. That the *Morning Herald*,

rald, devoted as it has so long been to opposition drudgery, should insert such an article as I have described, without the authority or suggestion of some of the leading persons of that party, which it uniformly supports, is not within the scope of my belief. It is said, indeed, that the publisher of this *Newspaper*, is prosecuted by the *Attorney General* to the *Queen*, for a Libel, and it will be curious to enquire hereafter, from whose purse the heavy Fine which a court of Justice may sentence the delinquent, will proceed; and by whose kindness he will be enabled to pass in comfort the term of imprisonment which he may be doomed to suffer. But notwithstanding this insult upon the character of the *Queen* was reprobated by every honest person in the kingdom, her popularity was a circumstance too hostile to the interests of the party, to be permitted to pass on without a continuation of attempts to lessen it, by lies the most ridiculous, stories the most improbable, and fictions the most audacious that the profligate hirelings of faction could possibly devise: but the scandals died almost the moment they

were born ; and such arts as these were not sufficient to turn the affections of the people from an object that had never ceased to deserve them.

THE second examination of the Royal Physicians, relative to the state of his *Majesty's* health, was the next source of hope to the aspiring party. I have read the report of the Committee with great attention, and was concerned to see the astonishing length to which an enquiry, which might have been made and satisfied in an hour, was protracted. The examinations of the several Physicians form a curiosity in their kind ; and a young Barrister could not study the art of interrogatory to so much advantage in any other publication, as in the report of the Committee. Dr. *Willis*, in particular, who had declared the most sanguine hopes of his *Majesty's* recovery, and whose attentions are said to be most conducive to that very desirable end, was questioned and cross-questioned with a degree of ability which nothing but the genius of truth could have supported. This tedi-

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ous business, however, produced a confirmation of the former opinion of the Physicians, that his MAJESTY was still in a recoverable state:—An opinion, which I will venture to say, did not give that peculiar satisfaction to some minds, which it did to most. The reason is obvious,— and I shall not enlarge upon it.

Thus did disappointment cloud the prospects of the Opposition Phalanx. The Queen proved superior to all calumny: His MAJESTY is declared to be in a recoverable state by all the Physicians, and by one of them, who is more intimately acquainted with the disorder of the *Royal Patient*, he is represented to be in the actual progress of recovery:—Mr. Pitt's popularity is confirmed or confirming in every part of the kingdom; and Dr. Willis, in spite of Medical differences, etiquettes, &c. still remains in full power at *Kew*. Thus driven from every post they have hitherto endeavoured to maintain, the Party apply to their last, and, as it appears to me, most powerful resource,—the letter written by the *Prince* in

answer to Mr. Pitt's official communication to his Royal Highness, of the restrictions on the Regency, which his *Majesty's Servants* proposed to submit to the consideration of Parliament. It was evidently written with a view to subsequent publication, if such a measure should be found necessary to answer any particular purpose, and, though I have not heard that it was handed about among the party, it had, certainly, lain for some time on the *Duke of Portland's* table, to be perused by such persons as were admitted to an audience of his Grace. At length, however, it was presented to the public, through the favourite channel of a *Newspaper*, where I have seen it in common with the rest of the nation.

WITH this letter I shall beg leave to take the same liberty which is experienced by the sovereign's speeches from the throne.—I shall consider it as the joint production of Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Fox, and Lord *Loughborough*—and treat it accordingly. Its more apparent object was to make such people as look not beyond the surface of things, to believe

believe.—First, That Mr. Pitt insults the *Prince* by proposing any limitations of the Regency, as they mark a distrust of his Royal Highness's designs in the government of the kingdom.—2dly, That he insults the *King*, in his affliction, by restraining the *Prince* in a manner which will cause the most poignant mortification to his MAJESTY, whenever he shall be restored to his former power of reason and reflection.—3dly, That he insults the people, by proposing such restrictions as will interrupt, if not render impracticable, the operations of government.—4thly, That he insults the whole Royal Family, by giving such a power to the *Queen*, in the care of the *King*'s person, and the government of his household, as may beget dissensions in it.—Such are the principal topics of this letter, which ought never to have seen the light; and will not, I believe, be found to have that effect upon the popular mind for which it was apparently published:—for I think, without presumption, that it may be observed very conclusively in answer to it—First, That the resolutions of the Two

Houses are not made in favour of, or against any particular individual, but are constitutional guards, provided for the safe resumption of the prerogative, whenever the afflicted sovereign shall be deemed competent to the re-exercise of it. The *Prince* or *Regent* should have every power necessary for the government of the country ; but it is the duty of Parliament to take care that he does not wear the crown. Nay, it appears to me, that the counsellors of the *Prince* have disgraced the Royal mind, in making it appear to harbour suspicions of insult, where insult could not be intended ; as, in common life—a disposition to suspect the ill opinion of others, is generally considered, as a presumptive proof that we deserve it. 2dly, That whenever it shall please Heaven, in its mercy to this nation, to heal the sovereign of it, he will be so far from expressing any displeasure at the conduct of his Ministers, in the present important crisis, that his MAJESTY will rather feel mortification in the extreme at their having been removed from their stations, and make it the first act of his return to the throne, to restore

store them with every mark of honour, affection, and gratitude. 3dly, The people, in general, so far from thinking themselves insulted by the restrictions on the Regency, consider them as protections from the rapacity and ambition of the promised Administration. And 4thly, If the power given to the *Queen* should prove a cause of uneasiness between her Majesty and the Regent, I cannot but foresee to whom such an unfortunate dissension must be necessarily attributed.---Let the *Prince* act aright, and the most profligate incendiary of faction will not dare to suggest, that the *Queen* will support what is wrong, for no other purpose but to foment a vexatious opposition to her son.

BUT this letter contains another, though less apparent design, which is most cunningly contrived, and will certainly succeed; for it is so written as to pledge the *Prince* to dismiss the present Administration. After having accused Mr. *Pitt* of forming a project disrespectful to the *King*, injurious to the nation, and insulting to himself, nothing but an inconsistency of character,

which cannot with justice be attributed to His Royal Highness; or a spirit of political forgiveness, which his counsellors would effectually oppose, could influence him to employ that Minister. Thus Mr. Fox and his friends are secure of being appointed the political servants of the *Regent*. But they are not content; they wish to be the servants of a King; and they who, during their public lives, have been continually venting their eloquence against the alarming power of the Crown, are now in the continual exercise of outrageous declamation, because that power is not communicated to a person who has no immediate right to wear the diadem. All the patronage of the army, the navy, the church, the law, the revenues, foreign courts, Ireland, the East Indies, &c. &c. is not enough for them. They complain, in bitterness, that their followers must sigh for coronets and patent places in vain; nay, such is their insatiate rapacity, that they would strip their afflicted sovereign of every appendage of his exalted station, and leave him nothing but the name of a King.

Such then are the men whom the Prince of *Wales* takes to his bosom ; men who do not possess the good opinion of their own nation, and will not, I fear, be regarded with the necessary confidence by any other. Such are the people whom his *Royal Highness* is infatuated to make the guides of his actions, at a period when he stands in a predicament unparallelled in the history of Princes. Such, alas ! are to be the Ministers of the *Regent* of Great-Britain.

It is, however, truly honourable to the present Administration, that when ever the *Prince* shall dismiss them from the service of their country, they will be secure of its affections.—Prosperity restored, revenue increased, debt diminished, character maintained, and a nation contented, are the characteristics of their government. After such a declaration, which I believe to be founded in truth, and sustained by experience, it would be unnecessary to detail the individual merits and qualities of his MAJESTY's servants ; yet it would prove an insensibility to superior excellence, which I should

should be ashamed to own, were I to pass by, without observation, as a philosopher, and without eulogium and gratitude as an Englishman, one of the first characters that have adorned the age, and advanced the glory of the country in which we live.

MR. P I T T,

AT a time of life when most men only begin to think, entered upon the government of the most complicated empire in the world, when it was in a state of difficulty, disreſs, and embarrassment which it had never known ; and, with a prematurity of talent, which has no parallel, and in spite of the most able and inveterate Opposition that ever harraſſed the measures of a Minister, restored it, in a great degree, to its former state of prosperity. You may observe, my friend, that there is something like a charm in this great statesman's name, so propitious to the glory of our country, which may attract me so powerfully to him ; but I am too far advanced in my progress to be caught with the whistling of any name, and, on the contrary,

contrary, I do most sincerely declare, that it is in the great outline of his Administration—in his capacity, eloquence, industry, disinterestedness, integrity, and, which is the result of them all, in the growing prosperity and general good of our country, that I find his irresistible claim to my applause and admiration. He may have committed errors as a Minister, as he may have his failings as a man ; for I am not describing a divinity, but an human being ;—though such a one, I believe, as, considering all his circumstances and qualities, has not many equals on the face of the globe.—The *Prince* may discard Mr. Pitt from the service of the nation : but an higher honour will then await him than princes have it in their power to bestow : the nation whom he has served will adopt him.

I COULD wish, at all times, to separate law from politics---or rather lawyers from politicians ; but since the circumstances of the times have united them, I cannot but mention a Nobleman, in the highest office of government, whose great capacity involves

volves, and does honour to both those characters.

### L O R D T H U R L O W

P O S S E S S E S a most comprehensive understanding, a strong systematic judgement, a commanding eloquence, and a stubborn integrity. As a Lord of Parliament in whom is there more dignity, and from whose lips proceeds such consummate wisdom?--As a Judge, at what time has the law known more official attention, more solemnity of demeanor, more patient investigation, and more complete justice, than during the period of his administration in the Court of Chancery?

### L O R D C A M D E N

Is honoured with the esteem of his country, and he well deserves it. While liberty is the boast of Englishmen, and the people feel the value of their constitutional rights

rights—while great public talents command public veneration, and the most amiable private qualities conciliate private esteem, his name will be dear to patriotism and to virtue.

—This Nobleman ranks among the first characters of the age in which we live;—the æra of his judicial office forms a very interesting and important article in the history of this country; and, when the praise or opprobrium of party is forgotten, and the measures of our day can be felt only in their remotest consequences, he will be considered with gratitude by a succeeding generation. Powerful as his eloquence is acknowledged to be, in a general view, it derives a peculiar grace and energy from being always employed to convey the dictates of an honest mind:—Disdaining all sophistry, as beneath the dignity of his station, as a Peer, and rejecting it, as contrary to his principles as a Man, he delivers his public mind with a perspicuity, force, and illumination, which cannot fail to command the respect and admiration of those whom he may not be able to convince.—In the days of his strength, he supported the rights of the people,

people against the illegal incroachments of a profligate and tyrannical administration; and, though that strength has long been in the wane, he buckles on his armour, and comes once more into the field, to defend the rights of an afflicted Sovereign, as well as to preserve the purity of the British Constitution, from the daring attempts of an ambitious and hungry faction:—and, I trust, this last effort of the veteran statesman, will not be in vain.

### L O R D K E N Y O N

MAY not equal, in talents or eloquence, the pre-eminent character whom he succeeds on the bench of Justice—nevertheless, he possesses qualities more appropriate to, and knowledge more connected with, the important office which he holds.—Profound in legal erudition,—patient in judicial discrimination— and, of the most determined integrity, he is formed to add no common lustre to his exalted station.—He does not sacrifice his official to his Parliamentary character:—

character :—the sphere of his particular duty is the great scene of his activity, as of his honour ;—and though, as a Lord of Parliament, he will never lessen his character,—it is as a Judge that he looks to aggrandize it.—Such men will be revered for their virtues and their wisdom, when the party declaimers, and the frothy pleaders,—when the *Loughboroughs*, and the *Erskines* of the day have long been forgotten.

I SHALL not lengthen this letter, already too long, by entering at large into the characters of those persons who compose the Ministry of the afflicted King. It will be sufficient for me to say what, in my opinion, events have sufficiently proved, that they form an aggregate of talents and qualities fully capable of conducting the public business with honour to themselves, and advantage to the empire.

THIS Administration is acknowledged by every impartial person to be strong in ability, integrity, and popular esteem ; and it is this general conviction which has enabled them

them to act, and possess themselves as they have done, at the moment when they are falling from power. The servants of the sovereign have, in general, remained true to their master, and very few indeed have followed the example of the Duke of *Queensberry*, who was the *first* to quit the usual service of the King, and the *last* to care for the public opinion of his apostacy.

Such then is the picture of public affairs at the moment when I have the honour of addressing myself to you. The King, deprived of his capacity to govern, and the nation on the eve of being deprived of an Administration, who, in their opinion, have governed them well, and without being able to derive any comfort from the hope of another Ministry, who will govern them better. It is painful indeed, to glance even at the cause of such a change.—Nor is it without the most sincere affliction that I see, what appears to me to be the greatest error—in the first place—

THE

## THE PRINCE OF WALES,

WITH all the personal qualities in the human character to gain popularity, is by no means popular in the country which is his heritage. What then can we conclude, but that a succession of untoward circumstances have combined to turn the current of national esteem from its natural channel. For my own part, I cannot but consider this circumstance with real astonishment. When I reflect on the generous character of the English nation, and their warm attachment to the family on the throne, I should suppose it to be a matter of uncommon difficulty, to prevent the *Heir-Apparent* to the Crown, who is highly qualified, and completely amiable in himself, from being the idol of the people. Yet so it is ; and I can trace the coldness of the public towards the *Prince*, to no other cause than the wretched character of those men, whose private society he has cherished, and whose public principles he has adopted.

If it had been my fortune to be placed within the circle of the Royal favour, and at a period similar to the present, the *Prince* had done me the honour to ask my confidential opinion respecting his conduct and designs, I should have addressed myself to him in the following manner :

" It is necessary for your Royal High-  
 " ness to reflect, that princes are not ele-  
 " vated above the mixed nature of human  
 " happiness, and that there are blessings  
 " allotted to the lowest class of mankind  
 " which Kings cannot possess. The for-  
 " tune which made you heir to a great em-  
 " pire, forbade you to have a friend. It  
 " is a law of nature, and cannot be viola-  
 " ted with impunity. The Prince who  
 " looks for friendship will find a favourite ;  
 " and in that favourite, perhaps, the loss  
 " of his honour, and the misery of his  
 " life.—They who aim at convincing you  
 " that you have a large share of friends,  
 " bound to you by the ties of personal at-  
 " tachment, insult your understanding ;  
 " and if you believe them, will laugh at  
 " your

" your credulity. Equality is the bond of  
 " friendship ; if, therefore, you descend to  
 " others, you degrade your dignity ;—if  
 " you raise others to yourself, you create a  
 " master, where it is your duty and your  
 " happiness to be supreme. Your spirit of  
 " friendship should not attach itself to  
 " an individual, but embrace a people.—  
 " Your affection should be capacious as your  
 " situation is elevated. The mind of a so-  
 " vereign should be dilated as the limits of  
 " his empire ; nor ever suffer itself to con-  
 " tract into any anxious attachment to the  
 " pigmy objects of private regard. Your  
 " generous mind, Sir, may revolt at such a  
 " representation ; but it is the truth, and  
 " it becomes you to submit to your allot-  
 " ment.

" Your Royal Highness stands in a  
 " situation unparalleled in the history of  
 " princes ;—and you are called to the  
 " Government of an Empire by a national  
 " misfortune of which there is no example.  
 " Power approaches you in a form which  
 " should greatly controul you in the exer-

" cise of it—It is a power that may be very  
 " shortly resumed, and therefore, while  
 " there is any probability of its resumption,  
 " should be employed with the most deli-  
 " cate attention and tenderness to the feel-  
 " ings of the Sovereign, whenever he  
 " shall awake to reason and capacity.—  
 " I think, Sir, if your Royal Highness  
 " should make any change in his MAJES-  
 " TY's Ministers, and should, from his re-  
 " storation to reason, be shortly called upon  
 " to resign your power, you will find your-  
 " self in a predicament that will not fail to  
 " divide the people between ridicule and  
 " commiseration. Indeed, we are not to sup-  
 " pose that the malady of the *King* will  
 " strengthen his nerves, and render him less  
 " sensible than he has ever been to insult and  
 " disappointment; it may, therefore, be rea-  
 " sonably apprehended, when his recovery  
 " qualifies him to know the events which  
 " had arisen during his unhappy lapse, what  
 " his sensations may be at the information,  
 " that the Ministers whom he approved  
 " were put down, and that those very men  
 " who had been the continued and intempe-  
 " rate

" rate opponents of his Government, and  
 " whose public principles and private cha-  
 " racters had long been the avowed objects  
 " of his aversion, were appointed to succeed  
 " them ; his sensations, alas ! may be of  
 " such poignant nature, on the occasion,  
 " as to cause an instant relapse of his com-  
 " plaint, and afflict the nation with the most  
 " cruel disappointment it has ever known.

" If your Royal Highness wishes to pos-  
 " sess the love of a people, which is the  
 " brightest jewel in a Monarch's crown ;---  
 " if it is an object with you to appear with  
 " real dignity in the eyes of foreign Na-  
 " tions ;---if you look with any anxiety to-  
 " wards the page of the Historian, which is  
 " to contain the records of this important  
 " period, it becomes you to proceed with  
 " the most rigid precaution in the exercise  
 " of that power with which Parliament  
 " has invested you. It appears to me that  
 " you would consult your honour, your  
 " comfort, and the happiness of the people,  
 " if you were to conduct yourself according  
 " to the principles of your royal father's

F 3                    " perfect

" perfect mind, to act as the representative  
 " of his reason, and the finisher of his work.  
 " You may have personal predilections,  
 " but this is not a moment for the in-  
 " dulgence of them;—nay, if the objects  
 " of your favour possessed the shadow of  
 " magnanimity,—they would not accept of  
 " power on the terms, and with the hazard  
 " that must accompany the approaching  
 " elevation to office, which it is their com-  
 " mon boast that you have promised them;  
 " and if they had any interest in the pro-  
 " perity of their country, or any personal  
 " regard for your Royal Highness,—they  
 " would advise you as I have done,

" His MAJESTY,—for I may venture to  
 " employ the idea,—left his kingdom in a  
 " state of encreasing prosperity; and if he  
 " should find it on his return, distracted by  
 " the violence of party broils and public  
 " discontents, and should maintain his mind  
 " against such a discovery;—on whom, think  
 " you, Sir, will he lay the blame of such  
 " things? If the ministers you may appoint  
 " should do nothing more than pursue the  
 plan

“ plan of their predecessors, it will be considered as an insult to the King to have appointed them ;—and if they should adopt plans of a different, and less beneficial nature,—not only the King but the kingdom will be insulted on the occasion :—nor can I, without the grossest flattery, augur favourably on the subject.

“ The favourites of your Royal Highness are not the favourites of the people ; and I am afraid that even your patronage will not elevate them into public confidence ; because, with grief I pronounce it, you yourself are not popular. You, perhaps, may be informed that the public voice is with you ;—that addresses are by no means decisive pledges of national favour, and that those which have lately been presented to Mr. Pitt, were signed chiefly by the lowest classes of people, whom your Ministers may, as other Ministers have done, entitled the *scum of the Earth*. But I must beg your royal permission to tell you otherwise.—When a falling Minister is

“ the most popular man in the kingdom,  
 “ his successors have little to expect from  
 “ the favour of the people ; and I must  
 “ beg leave to add, for your instruction,  
 “ a culinary proverb,— that *when the  
 “ pot boils, the scum is uppermost.*”

“ Mr. Fox may attempt to persuade your  
 “ Royal Highness to adopt his principles of  
 “ popularity:— *When the people are with  
 “ me they are right, and I will cherish their  
 “ patriotism ; but when they are against me,  
 “ they are infatuated, and it is my duty to op-  
 “ pose their madness.*—That such opposi-  
 “ tion will form a necessary measure in the  
 “ Administration which it is expected you  
 “ will appoint, I can easily foresee ; nor  
 “ will the repeal of the Shop-tax, the *on-  
 “ ly ground* whatever which they possess  
 “ for popularity, extend its conciliating in-  
 “ fluence beyond some forced illumination,  
 “ —the purchased huzzas of Westminster  
 “ voters,—and the public thanks, perhaps,  
 “ of the City Association.

" It is an incontrovertible maxim, and  
 " your adherent Mr. *Edmund Burke* will  
 " confirm the truth of it, that, when a Mi-  
 " nister is determined to hold his place in  
 " opposition to the people, he must govern  
 " by the power of corruption; but I trust,  
 " Sir, that you will never consent to the  
 " extension of an evil, which to have con-  
 " trouled and corrected, is among the glo-  
 " ries of the present Administration.

" Indeed, Sir, I cannot but lament that  
 " the indiscreet councils of your friends  
 " have made you appear to disapprove the  
 " measure of consigning the *King's* disor-  
 " dered state to his faithful consort's care.—  
 " Is it possible they can make you believe  
 " that there is not sufficient in all the pa-  
 " tronage, at home and abroad, to satisfy  
 " the craving poverty, or impatient ambi-  
 " tion of the party, as well as to answer  
 " the purpose of corruption,—if corrup-  
 " tion must be an engine of your govern-  
 " ment,—without intruding upon the be-  
 " coming dignity of the Sovereign, and  
 " violating

“ violating the sanctuary of your royal  
“ mother’s consolation ?

“ No common arts have been employed to  
“ represent the restrictions of Parliament as  
“ personal insults to you, and your Royal  
“ mind has been persuaded to adopt the idea ;  
“ but, surely, your more mature reflection  
“ will discover that limitations, like laws, are  
“ made, not against individuals, but against  
“ the common frailties of human nature.  
“ The Act of Settlement is a string of li-  
“ mitations, and Magna Charta is the  
“ same. Nay, the cumbrous volumes of  
“ the Statute Law, contain nothing but  
“ limitations in some shape or other ; and  
“ King William III. had as good cause  
“ to complain of the Bill of Rights, as you  
“ have to consider yourself insulted by the  
“ Resolutions of Parliament.—Permit me,  
“ Sir, to add, that your *advisers* are not  
“ your *friends* ; — they never were the  
“ friends of the afflicted King, nor, with all  
“ their professions, do I believe them to be  
“ the *friends of the people*.—They have  
“ brought you into a contest with the Mi-  
“ nisters

" nisters of your Father ;—they have con-  
 " ducted it with all the miserable spirit of  
 " a Borough Election ; and they have cau-  
 " sed your repeated defeats, where it was  
 " beneath your dignity to wish to triumph.  
 " If you cannot at once extirpate the ha-  
 " bits of sensual indulgence, which have  
 " done you so much injury ;—if you attempt  
 " a vain resistance to your passions which  
 " have so often disgraced you ;—if you can-  
 " not live without having recourse to the  
 " pleasures of intemperance, let them be  
 " enjoyed in the secret corners of your pa-  
 " lace ;—give to the world, at least, the  
 " exterior due to the station which you oc-  
 " cupy ;—and learn, I beseech you, Sir, to  
 " distinguish between the Statesman whom  
 " you employ in the service of your coun-  
 " try, and the buffoon whom you call to  
 " your midnight festivities.

" CAN you think, Sir, that the giving  
 " entertainments to a party, or the receiv-  
 " ing entertainments from them, at such  
 " a crisis as the present, is consistent with  
 " the dignity and honour naturally attach-  
 " ed to your character ?—The attentions of

" your brother to certain Members of Par-  
 " liament are very unbecoming:—and, if  
 " it be true that some of the Royal Family  
 " have been persuaded to treat the *Queen*  
 " with *rudeness*, I have not language to ex-  
 " press my detestation of those diabolical  
 " councils, which suggested such inhuman  
 " conduct,

" It is a very common opinion, that  
 " there are certain persons, who, from  
 " their views, their ambition, and their  
 " necessities, do not wish for the restoration  
 " of the *King*—nay, Sir, the same opinion  
 " does not hesitate to declare them capable  
 " of employing all their arts to obstruct the  
 " natural effects of his MAJESTY's, *recovery* ;  
 " but this is not all ; for these men are not  
 " only suffered to approach your ear, but,  
 " are believed to have got possession of your  
 " heart.—Your Royal Highness would do  
 " well to reflect, with serious attention, on  
 " the possible consequences of such a dan-  
 " gerous and disgraceful confidence, before  
 " you are deceived into a conduct, which,  
 " to say no worse, may render you con-  
     " temptible

“ temptible in the eyes of a discerning people. ‘ *A Prince, tolerably wise, or tolerably honest,*’ says Lord Bolingbroke, ‘ *will know, that, to unite himself to bad men, is to disunite himself from his people*; and, that he makes a *stupid bargain*, if he prefers *trick* to *policy*, *expedient* to *system*, and a *cabal* to a nation.’

“ You are, at this moment in a situation of great perplexity: by elevating your personal favourites to immediate power you will risk much, and can gain but little:—by continuing the ministers of your royal father, during his recoverable state, you will *risk* nothing, and gain much;—you will gain the love of the people, and the thanks of the *King*, when he shall possess the capacity to thank you:—and, I should think, Sir, that it can be of no little consequence to such a mind as your’s, whether the first congratulations you offer to your father, on his restoration to reason, will be returned by expressions of gratitude or reproach.—But whenever a repossession of

“ capacity

" capacity shall be declared hopeless by the  
 " royal physicians,—and Parliament shall  
 " adopt the declaration;—then, Sir, your  
 " power will be entire, and those persons  
 " whom you shall honour with your con-  
 " fidence will naturally succeed to the go-  
 " vernment of the kingdom!—*et felix fau-*  
 " *tumque sit.*—In the mean time, let me  
 " implore your Royal Highness to beware  
 " of any change; hold yourself in the dig-  
 " nity of patience:—the affairs of the coun-  
 " try are well administered, and, if those  
 " men whom you wish to bring into power  
 " were much better than they are, an al-  
 " teration of ministerial arrangement, at  
 " this crisis, would be a disadvantage to  
 " the kingdom, and might prove a bitter  
 " source of mortification to yourself. Per-  
 " mit me, Sir, in concluding, to offer to  
 " the recollection of your Royal Highness  
 " the epitaph of the Italian valetudinarian.  
 " *Stavo bene—ma per star meglio—sto qui—*  
 " I was well—I would be better—and here  
 " I lie."

Such

Such, my friend, would be the sentiments I should deliver on such an occasion—and, in so doing, I should perform the duty of a faithful subject and a good citizen:—but I must now beg leave to quit the character which I have assumed, and to return to that which, I trust, will accompany me to the end of my days—for, till then, I shall be, with the greatest truth,

Your most sincere friend, &c.

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